

The Inheritance of the Papyrus Style of Illustration in Early Latin Literary Codices

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In memoriam Kurt Weitzmann (1904–1993)

The publication of Kurt Weitzmann's *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* in 1947 is a landmark in our field. While I confess to being one of those who always feels out of breath, running from behind, as one after another lost, fully illustrated edition is postulated, I think there can be no doubt that Weitzmann established the principle of a papyrus style of small illustrations inserted at the appropriate point in the columns of text in a roll.¹ It is true that very few examples of this system of illustration can be found among surviving early papyrus fragments—none in major literary texts—but we must recognize that our fragments come normally from mummy cartonnage and dumps, not the places one would expect to find remnants of fine library books.

Weitzmann studied primarily Greek material in compiling his evidence. From my study of the two famous fifth-century illustrated Vergils, I can add important evidence to confirm his conclusions. Indeed, I suggest that the first illustration in the Vergilius Romanus (Vat. lat. 3867) may be the best witness for reconstructing the appearance of a papyrus-style illustration in a Latin literary roll. This illustration (Fig. 1) is unique in this manuscript in having no frame and no painted background, qualities basic to the papyrus style. It is placed at the top of the first surviving recto—originally the second folio of the codex—above the opening verses of the first *Eclogue*, which it illustrates in precise

This article was written at the invitation of the editors of *Byzantine East and Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* and submitted in March 1991. Two and a half years later, the editors informed me that they refused to print the first names of the authors I cite in my notes. I have always considered the spelling out of first names an integral part of my scholarship and a crucial service to those who must use large university library catalogues; for example, for L. Jones—Leslie Jones is cited here in note 13—the California catalogue has 1,973 entries. Therefore, I withdrew the article but take pleasure in publishing it now with Dumbarton Oaks because of the long association both Weitzmann and I enjoyed with this institution.

¹The papyrus style was first defined in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), 52–53, with important additions in the second edition (Princeton, 1970), 239–40. The implications of this definition are discussed frequently elsewhere in that book and in Weitzmann's *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

detail: Meliboeus, stepping forward and leading a goat, addresses Tityrus, who is seated beneath a tree playing a flute.²

The drawing is very clumsy; it is so bad that I believe the painter was not accustomed to working on manuscripts but perhaps on wall paintings. By comparison with the next illustrations he executed, it is clear that here he was copying a model in good classical style. He was working presumably in Rome, late in the fifth century, and his model must have been either an older papyrus or a close copy of one. Being intrinsically the first illustration for a luxury edition of the most popular of Latin authors, this illustration may have circulated fairly widely. We have four related illustrations in later manuscripts,³ but this is the only one that helps us reconstruct a lost model in the papyrus style. We can simply imagine this illustration executed at small size, with rather fluid brush work but with confident articulation of the figures.

The other illustrated Vergil, the Vergilius Vaticanus (Vat. lat. 3225), a Roman work of the years around A.D. 400,⁴ does not at first appear to reflect the papyrus style because the illustrations are all carefully painted with heavy frames and backgrounds, features that would lead to unnecessary flaking off of pigments if used in a roll. But close analysis of the illustrations demonstrates that, for the *Aeneid* scenes, this manuscript had an iconographic model with small illustrations in a horizontal format placed just before the text they illustrate; since the treatment of the backgrounds varies greatly, we have every reason to suppose that the backgrounds and frames were added to these compositions by the painters who executed them in the Vergilius Vaticanus.

The clearest evidence for dependence on an iconographic model is found in the illustration on folio 49r (Fig. 2), which illustrates two entirely separate episodes in the text of Book VI. At the left, as the Sibyl watches, Aeneas raises his right hand to his face in a gesture of wonderment when he first sees the mutilated Trojan hero Deiphobus; much of the nude body of Deiphobus has been scraped off deliberately, perhaps because in the Middle Ages he was thought to be a devil. This is exactly the scene described (beginning with verse 494) below the illustration; then, on the second line of the verso of this folio (at verse 500), Aeneas speaks to Deiphobus, a scene that would require a different gesture by Aeneas. Their conversation continues through verse 547 (the seventh line of folio 50v).

But the larger part of this painting illustrates an entirely different scene, which begins at verse 548 on the third page following this illustration, and continues through verse 627, four pages further along. At the beginning of this passage Aeneas sees the great walls and gate of Tartarus, the river Phlegethon encircling it, and the fury Tisiphone sitting guarding it; he next asks the Sibyl to explain this fearful sight and the horrible cries he hears from within; she then explains the terrible punishments exacted there. What is illustrated here is obviously incomplete, since the figures of Aeneas and the Sibyl

²I must emphasize that there is no retouching in this illustration. For a full description, and for discussion of the technical details, see my *Codicological Notes on the Vergilius Romanus*, ST 345 (Vatican City, 1992), 55–59. I gave a brief account of the nature and date of these illustrations in *ArtB* 43 (1961), 249–50.

³See Florentine Mütterich, “Die illustrierten Vergil-Handschriften der Spätantike,” *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, n.s., 8 (1982), 205–21, esp. 209–10, and my *Codicological Notes*, 58–59.

⁴For systematic descriptions and for reconstructions of lost folios, see my 1984 commentary to the facsimile *Vergilius Vaticanus*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti XL and Codices selecti LXXI (Graz, 1980); see also my more general discussion in *The Vatican Vergil* (Berkeley, 1993).

are to the left of Deiphobus and entirely involved with him. To illustrate the passage beginning at verse 548, we need Aeneas discovering Tartarus, suddenly looking back according to the text, and the Sibyl beside him. In a correct iconography, they could have been at the right of that part of this scene, where a hill is painted. The painting in the *Vergilius Vaticanus* must therefore be considered an unintelligent combination of what were two separate scenes fifty-four lines apart in an iconographic model. It is out of the question to suppose that a painter of this skill would have invented so inappropriate a combination of disparate elements if he had been told to create from scratch an illustration above verse 494. It is also worth noting that, on a folio lost after folio 50, there was another illustration of the next phase of this story, above verse 560, where Aeneas begins his questioning of the Sibyl, and she replies with vivid descriptions of various offenses and punishments. The lost illustration probably resembled the two previous illustrations of the underworld in the *Vergilius Vaticanus*, where the several different figures mentioned in the text are all shown at smaller scale.⁵

The location of the actual illustrations was determined by the scribe in copying the text, in this case leaving room for illustrations before verses 494 and 560. For verse 494 the iconographic model provided a scene with the three figures of the Sibyl, Aeneas, and Deiphobus. For the next scene, by comparison with the two previous scenes of the underworld, we would expect to see within Tartarus, in a horizontal composition, the judge Rhadamanthus, the fury Tisiphone, the Hydra, and most of the dozen figures the Sibyl mentions as being punished there. In the normal system followed in the *Vergilius Vaticanus*, we would expect this illustration to come immediately before verse 548, when Aeneas discovers Tartarus. The scribe probably made a mistake in not allowing space for the illustration until verse 560, while the iconographic model probably had this next scene just before verse 548. There is no need for more than one illustration of this episode, to judge by comparable underworld scenes in the *Vergilius Vaticanus*. When the painter started to make the illustration for the Deiphobus episode at verse 494, he must have looked ahead, realized there was no space provided for an illustration at verse 548, and decided to convert the intrinsically square three-figure Deiphobus composition into a horizontal format by adding the first part of the Tartarus scene—which in the iconographic model was at verse 548—and then to use the remainder of that scene for the space provided at verse 560.

The next surviving illustration comes above verse 628 and shows Aeneas and the Sibyl entering the Elysian Fields, where the various figures mentioned in the text are shown, just as postulated for the lost Tartarus illustration. After that, however, comes what appears to be another compound illustration (Fig. 3), where there are three distinct episodes. At the upper left, the Sibyl asks Musaeus how to find Anchises, and he offers to show them the way (in verses 669–678, beginning just below the illustration); most of the figure of Musaeus was painted in white and has since flaked off, but it is clear that he has started to lead Aeneas and the Sibyl. Except that this shows the second phase of the episode instead of the first, this illustration is comparable to the scene of Deiphobus, Aeneas, and the Sibyl, and it has the same intrinsically square shape, which is awkward

⁵The offset of the lost illustration includes a small circle at the lower right, suggesting that Ixion was shown at the lower left of the lost illustration. Compare Ixion in the surviving illustration on fol. 9r.

for the framed horizontal illustrations of this manuscript, but which would be no problem in a more casual unframed illustration in papyrus style.

Below this in the next scene, where after Aeneas and Anchises have both spoken, Aeneas attempts to embrace the shade of his father (in verses 700–702 on the verso of the following folio). The Sibyl, who presumably watched this scene, is not shown. Although this moment is a climax in the emotional development of the story, it is not easy to make it a satisfactory horizontal composition, and it is shown here at reduced scale. The main part of this painting shows the next scene, where “in valle reducta” (verse 703) Aeneas discovers souls drinking from the river Lethe, asks who they are, and Anchises responds with a long general explanation of their eventual return to earth (through verse 751) before starting his predictions of the future history of Rome, which began with the next illustration, above verse 756 at the top of the next folio, now lost. But to illustrate the first scene at the Lethe properly, we need Anchises explaining it to Aeneas, and we need the Sibyl listening also (since she is mentioned specifically at the end of the passage).

It seems reasonable to assume that the iconographic model had a separate illustration of the scene with Musaeus at verse 669, where our scribe left space for this painting. It seems reasonable also to suppose that the model had a separate scene for the first encounter of Aeneas and Anchises, perhaps at verse 687—where Anchises first speaks—and then another illustration for the scene by the Lethe, when it is first mentioned, at verse 703. That would require three illustrations closer together than normal in this manuscript, but not impossibly close. In Book II the scene of the Trojan Horse is on the recto of folio 19, and then after only fourteen lines of text the scene of Hector’s ghost appearing to the sleeping Aeneas is on the verso of that folio. On the lost first folio of Book VII there was an illustration, presumably showing the funeral of Caieta, and after only nine lines came the surviving illustration of Aeneas sailing past Circe (fol. 58r). In both these instances we have unrelated subjects requiring separate illustration, but for an example of successive moments in a continuous story, there are only twelve lines of text between the two scenes of Dido on her funeral pyre—first her soliloquy and then the lamentation over the dying Dido (fols. 40r and 41r). There is room for doubt about the most appropriate arrangement of the scenes of Aeneas and Anchises, but it is not reasonable to combine them with the scene of Musaeus; this combination came about only because our scribe left no separate space for these scenes with Anchises.

A different kind of evidence for our artist’s use of an iconographic model comes from a painting that is entirely satisfactory as an illustration of the text, but is obviously displaced. Figure 4 shows the episode near the end of Book V where Venus asks Neptune to allow Aeneas a peaceful voyage from Sicily to Italy. Venus is speaking (verses 779–798), while in the background Aeneas pours a libation as the ships set off (verses 774–778). Obviously this illustration belongs before verse 779 or 774, but it comes after verse 814, the penultimate line of Neptune’s reply to Venus; the next folios are lost. If our artist had been set to inventing his illustrations from scratch, he would have looked at the space provided, skipped the one remaining line of Neptune’s speech at the top of the next folio, and read the next episode—verses 816–826—where Neptune rides off on his sea chariot accompanied by tritons and nereids described in considerable detail, making this an eminently illustratable subject. Clearly the scribe made a mistake in leaving space for an

- 1 Illustration of the first *Eclogue* in the Vergilius Romanus. Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 1r (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



- 2 Aeneas and Deiphobus with Tartarus and Tisiphone in the Vergilius Vaticanus. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 49r (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)

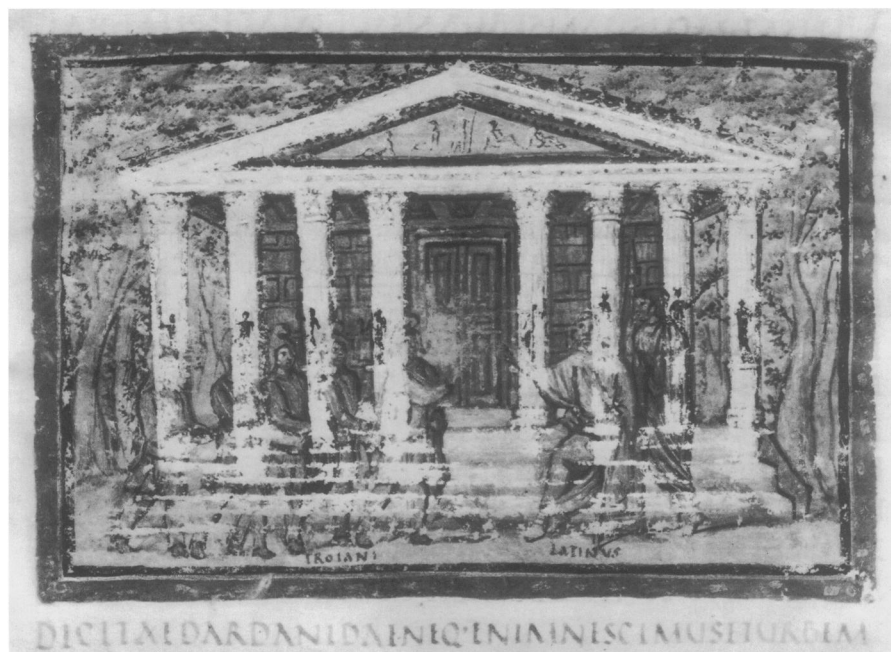


- 3 Musaeus leading Aeneas and the Sibyl, Aeneas embracing Anchises, and souls drinking from the River Lethe. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 53v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)





- 4 Venus speaks to Neptune as Aeneas pours a libation before sailing. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 44v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



- 5 Trojan emissaries approach King Latinus. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 60v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



- 6 King Latinus gives horses to the Trojans. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 63r (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



7 Ascanius shooting Silvia's pet stag in the Vergilius Romanus.
Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 163r (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



8 The wounded stag returns to Silvia, Allecto sounds the war call, and battle ensues between Trojans and Latins, in the Vergilius Vaticanus.
Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 66v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



9 Cyclopes at the forge. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 8v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)



10 Simo gives orders to Sosia in the Vatican Terence. Vat. lat. 3868, fol. 4v (photo: courtesy the Vatican Library)

illustration after verse 814, and, searching the iconographic model, the artist preferred the illustration he found some thirty-five lines earlier.

That the iconographic model was in papyrus style, without frames or backgrounds, is suggested by the variety of backgrounds that must have been added by our painter. This is particularly striking in the case of two successive illustrations in Book VII (Figs. 5 and 6). In the first, the Trojan emissaries approach King Latinus; this illustration is placed after a detailed description of the palace and above verse 195, where Latinus begins his speech welcoming the Trojans. In the second, Latinus orders that horses be given to the Trojans; this is placed above verse 274, where this action is described, after the long exchange of speeches, a passage that is intrinsically unillustratable. Since Latinus is shown seated on the same throne, we would expect the same setting for the two scenes, which verse 192 specifies is inside the palace. A model in papyrus style would have shown only the principal figures, and no background, but for the first scene our artist chose to add a detailed rendering of a temple facade set in a forest—taking up a number of hints in the text just before the illustration though wrongly placing the event in front of the temple—while for the second scene he chose to eliminate any specific setting and painted instead a beautifully rendered gradation of colors for a deep atmospheric space; to help establish the distance, he added a small extra scene of a man leading two horses. Each of these different backgrounds is characteristic of the classical revival style of our painter. I would add that the four *Aeneid* illustrations in this manuscript that have a square frame can easily be seen to be intrinsically horizontal compositions slightly rearranged or extended to fit the square.

The iconographic model of the *Aeneid* scenes in the Vergilius Vaticanus was therefore in papyrus style. Whether it was actually a set of old papyrus rolls is uncertain but not impossible. The era around A.D. 400 was the time when the codex became the normal form of book for classical texts, and our manuscript may have been one of the first illustrated Vergils to take advantage of the new format.⁶

Stylistic evidence for the date of the iconographic model is difficult to define. The examples we have analyzed here were all painted by the third hand, a gifted artist capable of inventing both of the classically painted backgrounds for the two scenes of King Latinus and the Trojan emissaries, and therefore, presumably capable of rendering figures in a coherent classical style even if those in the model were relatively stiff. The first sixteen surviving *Aeneid* illustrations were done by the less skillful second hand, and some of his figures are awkwardly articulated. This irregular defect is presumably due to that painter, and we should assume that the model was executed in a competent classical figure style, even if we have no evidence for a specific date.

A different line of analysis does suggest an approximate date for the prototype of this iconography. Aeneas in the underworld scenes and other officers in battle scenes consistently wear knee breeches (*bracae*) under their skirts of armor. This was a practical garment, worn in the field but not on dressier occasions, when only a tunic would be worn under the skirt of armor. Trajan and his officers are regularly depicted with

⁶See, in general, Colin H. Roberts and Theodore C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983).

breeches on the Column of Trajan (but only a tunic is worn on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento); Marcus Aurelius is sometimes shown with breeches on his column, but they are rarely shown worn by officers with armor after that. Under his skirt of armor, Galerius, on his arch at Salonica, and Constantine, on his arch at Rome, wear looser, tapered pants tied under the foot, the kind of pants associated with barbarians at an earlier time. This is the sort of detail likely to have been copied from the iconographic model; its careful and consistent depiction, visible in Figure 2, though clearer in other examples in the manuscript, suggests that the prototype of the iconographic model may well have been made in the first half of the second century, a time when it is reasonable to expect that a cycle of *Aeneid* illustrations might be developed.⁷

To return to the Vergilius Romanus, it is obvious that the *Eclogue* illustrations after the first were improvised by this artist out of stock motifs—a formulaic author portrait and the general repertory of bucolic scenes of herdsmen. The only surviving *Georgics* illustration, the pair for Book III, was surely developed from that same repertory, suggesting the theme of animal husbandry but without claiming to illustrate any specific passage of the text. The *Aeneid* illustrations of the Vergilius Romanus, however, do illustrate specific episodes in the text, usually quite accurately; they must have had an iconographic model, since we cannot expect this painter to invent successful narrative illustrations. They are treated as frontispiece illustrations, with a pair of them facing each other before the beginning of each book, but it is clear that they must have been based on an iconographic model in which the scenes were intended to be placed in front of the passage illustrated, as in the Vergilius Vaticanus. Although as frontispiece illustrations they have been given square frames, it is easy to see that the elements depicted intrinsically fit a horizontal composition without a background, and that the prototype of this model may well have been in papyrus style. There is no evidence for the date of the model since details of costume and the like are either clumsy and generic or are modernized.

The scene of Ascanius shooting the stag (Fig. 7) is clumsy in several details, including the stance of Ascanius and of the Trojan at the right. It is damaged near the two small medallions at the top, but it clearly illustrates verses 496–499 of Book VII. The medallions—probably Hercules at the left, apparently Diana at the right—probably allude to the god who guided the hand of Ascanius, mentioned but not identified in verse 498. This was the second of two frontispieces to Book VII, but the first is lost. In the iconographic model, this scene would have been placed above verse 493, where Ascanius is first mentioned hunting. That passage survives in the Vergilius Vaticanus on folio 66r, but it is not illustrated.

On the other hand the Vergilius Vaticanus does have a closely related illustration on the verso of that folio, above verse 503 (Fig. 8). Here the stag returns to Silvia—who is mostly lost at the left and was partly retouched early in the fifteenth century—as described in verses 500–502 (at the bottom of the previous page), after which the battle breaks out, as described in detail through verse 539. A transitional episode (in verses 511–513) is illustrated above the stag, where the miniature figure of Allecto sounds the war call on her trumpet. This painting therefore illustrates three moments of the unfolding narrative: the return of the stag in verses 500–502, Allecto's war call in

⁷See further discussion in my *Vatican Vergil*, 96–98.

verses 511–513 (but apparently not Silvia's call for help in verses 503–504), and the battle described in verses 523–539 (including the deaths of Almo, verse 532, and Galaesus, verse 535).

It would be possible to suppose that in the iconographic model of the Vergilius Vaticanus this was shown in two separate scenes, probably in front of verse 500 for the episodes of Silvia and Allecto, and in front of verse 519 or 523 for the battle; that would allow a reasonable spacing of illustrations. But unlike the episodes previously discussed, especially the entirely separate episodes of Deiphobus and Tartarus, this is a continuous narrative, and it is not necessary to postulate dividing it.⁸ It is also important to realize that on the lost previous folio there was an illustration before verse 483, presumably showing Silvia caring for her pet stag. The Vergilius Vaticanus actually had two illustrations twenty verses apart; if we postulate the division just mentioned, we might suppose the iconographic model had illustrations at verses 483, 500, and 519 or 523, not an unreasonable frequency for illustrating a story where important episodes unfold so rapidly.

Now the question must be asked, did the iconographic model of the Vergilius Romanus belong to the same cycle of illustrations? If so, the illustration of Ascanius shooting the stag should have been placed at verse 493 (or 496). The answer given here is a matter of personal judgment, but to have illustrations of successive phases of the same narrative only ten and seven lines apart seems to me too crowded, though not impossible. I prefer to suppose that there were two different cycles of illustrations of the *Aeneid* with characteristics of the papyrus style in circulation in late antiquity, when these two manuscripts were made about seventy-five years apart. Nine episodes of the Vergilius Romanus cycle survive for the *Aeneid*, all permitting the hypothesis that they were adapted from illustrations in papyrus style.⁹

For the other poems of Vergil, the situation is quite different. Nothing of the *Eclogues* survives in the Vergilius Vaticanus; for the Romanus only the illustration to the first *Eclogue*, as already discussed, can be considered an authentic older iconography. Five small ivory panels on the Carolingian Flabellum of Tournus have bucolic subjects, but the one commonly agreed to illustrate the first *Eclogue* is quite different from the illustration in

⁸For comparison, we may note that the illustration on fol. 16r, clumsily executed by the second painter, shows two phases of the same episode in Book I. In the main part, the enthroned Dido receives Aeneas, while Ilioneus and Sergestus stand by. At the right Achates is shown running to the right, returning to the ships to fetch Ascanius; the name of each figure is given in original labels. But the text specifies that Ilioneus and Sergestus, together with a number of other Trojans, had been talking with Dido when Aeneas and Achates arrived hidden in a cloud. Then, at verse 586 (below this illustration), the cloud vanishes and Aeneas speaks to Dido, as shown here. Although Achates is not mentioned again until verse 643–644, when Aeneas sends him back to the ships (as shown at the right), logically he should be included in the group before Dido. It could be supposed that here we have another case of telescoping the illustrations of two episodes fifty-seven lines apart, which in the iconographic model may have been illustrated separately.

⁹One scene was strangely modified—the Sacrifice at the Tomb of Anchises on fol. 76v—where the three enthroned Trojans do not suit the text and must have come from current imperial iconography. The pair of illustrations of the Council of the Gods (fols. 234v–235r) must have been expanded from a single illustration. The battle scene on fol. 188v has some errors probably due to a damaged model, but the others, such as Iris coming to Turnus (fol. 74v), can easily be imagined executed with better articulation of the figures and without frame or background—in good papyrus style—and placed in front of the specific passages they illustrate. See a full discussion in my *Codicological Notes*.

the Vergilius Romanus, and these five scenes, with their complex backgrounds and tight vertical format, do not permit the reconstruction of the required set of ten illustrations for the *Eclogues* in papyrus style.¹⁰ The first *Eclogue*, as we have seen, was widely illustrated because it came at the beginning of the first roll of the works of Vergil, but we cannot be sure that the other *Eclogues* were ever illustrated at an early time in papyrus style.

The only surviving *Georgics* illustration in the Vergilius Romanus, the pair of square framed paintings on fols. 44v–45r, is an accumulation of generic bucolic motifs referring to animal husbandry in part, but it is not an illustration of a particular passage. The first surviving illustration in the Vergilius Vaticanus, for Book III of the *Georgics*, is a unique full-page frontispiece including six small illustrations in a horizontal format. The two at the top illustrate the invocation of pastoral deities in the first two verses; the next three illustrate three of the five myths alluded to in verses 4–7; the last illustrates the poet's triumph predicted in verses 10–15. These cannot possibly reflect the arrangement of a manuscript in papyrus style since one illustration would have to come before verse 1, another before verse 2, another before verse 5, and two before verse 6. Presumably this frontispiece was invented for the Vergilius Vaticanus by adapting standard bucolic, mythological, and triumphal iconography.

The other eight surviving *Georgics* illustrations in the Vergilius Vaticanus must have been developed in the same way. The scene in Book IV of the Cyclopes working at the forge (Fig. 9) illustrates the simile of industrious bees compared to the Cyclopes (in verses 170–178, beginning below the painting), and although they are labeled CYCLOPES these men each have two eyes. The model must have been a generic scene of workers at a forge, not a specific illustration of this text. It was made into an illustration for the *Georgics* by adding not only the bees in the sky but the witness figure at the left, apparently raising his right hand to his chin in a gesture of contemplation. He is a stand-in for the poet, a visualized commentator on the significance of the scene; similar figures occur in two other illustrations to the *Georgics* in this manuscript.¹¹ Such a curiously self-conscious approach to illustrating the text has the ring of late antiquity, of the age of compiling commentators such as Servius, rather than the first half of the second century, when we have found it reasonable to suppose that the papyrus-style model for the *Aeneid* cycle was developed. While no single observation like this offers strong proof, the general weight of evidence leads to the conclusion that the first painter of the Vergilius Vaticanus, a very skillful classical revival painter, did not have a consistent iconographic model for his *Georgics* illustrations but collected his material from various sources, sometimes improvising in ways that do not exactly illustrate the text.¹² It appears that we have no evidence for the existence of a *Georgics* cycle in papyrus style.

¹⁰See Lorenz E. A. Eitner, *The Flabellum of Tournus*, *ArtB*, suppl. 1 (New York, 1944), 17–20, and Mutherich, "Die illustrierten Vergil-Handschriften der Spätantike."

¹¹Commentator figures appear in the scenes of Watering the Flocks at Mid-Morning (fol. 6r) and the Old Corycian (fol. 7v); see my *Vergilius Vaticanus*, 50–53, and *Vatican Vergil*, 12–17.

¹²In the scene of the Care of Young Cattle (fol. 3r), the detail of milking a cow contradicts Vergil's advice to save all the milk for the calves; in the Combat of Bulls (fol. 4v [Vv]), the defeated bull exercising against a tree at the right is the same color as the beautiful heifer at the upper left rather than the color of either of the bulls in combat; the house in the distance is too luxurious and the terrain too fertile for the Old Corycian (fol. 7v). See my *Vergilius Vaticanus*, 48–52, and *Vatican Vergil*, 10–11, 14–15.

One other illustrated Latin literary manuscript from late antiquity should be discussed here, even though it is known only from Carolingian copies. The best of these, the Vatican Terence (Vat. lat. 3868), is so carefully copied, particularly at the beginning, that its first narrative illustration (Fig. 10) can be considered almost as if it were the original from the beginning of the fifth century.¹³ For the opening scene of *Andria* we find the old gentleman Simo giving his steward Sosia and two slaves instructions for preparing a banquet; at the right is the doorway through which the slaves are about to pass. Their gestures and postures are convincing, and their costumes and the objects they carry are accurately depicted. There are touches of shadow to help locate their feet on the receding ground, but there is neither frame nor continuously painted background; this looks like the papyrus style.

On the contrary, we can be quite sure that the lost late antique manuscript carefully copied at the court of Louis the Pious,¹⁴ and then copied at Corbie, Reims, and another center in that region, was an original creation in codex format, and not a copy or adaptation of an earlier cycle. Allowing for some careless painting later in the Vatican Terence, and checking details in the other copies, it is clear that the cycle of illustrations was internally consistent, that, for example, the masks displayed in an aedicula at the start of each play are the ones worn by the characters in that play, and that they do not show the specific characteristics described in earlier theoretical writings. A close reading of the illustrations shows that they were based not on any tradition of performance, but on the cast of characters given at the start of each scene in the text being illustrated, a version of text and scene divisions that can reasonably be dated to the era around A.D. 400. In this way the illustrations normally show the characters in order from left to right in the same order as listed in the heading that marks the scene division, normally the order of speaking, even though this sometimes leads to anomalies such as illustrating separate phases of a scene in order to include a character who does not speak until late in the scene. Various details of costume, such as the decorative patches on the servants' tunics in Figure 10 and the officer's cap worn by Thraso in the *Eunuch*, are surely late antique.

It is clear therefore that in the era around 400, presumably in Rome, a painter comparable to the best in the Vergilius Vaticanus invented a complete cycle of illustrations for the six plays of Terence. He made a fine codex, including a framed medallion portrait of Terence, which itself echoes an older tradition, but he gave the portrait an architectural support and a pair of flanking slaves not likely to have been found in a roll. Also, he painted an elaborate aedicula with masks as a frontispiece for each play, another feature that is appropriate for a codex but not a roll. Yet he invented his narrative illustrations from his repertory of active figures in a layout that suggests the papyrus style.

¹³See my chapter, "The Organization of the Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence," *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith (Los Altos Hills, 1996), 41–56. I also have nearly ready for press a comprehensive monograph, *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence*. Leslie Webber Jones and Charles Rufus Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence* (Princeton, 1931), give all the necessary illustrations, but their descriptions are not reliable and their palaeographical and historical conclusions are generally wrong.

¹⁴See Florentine Mutherich, "Book Illumination at the Court of Louis the Pious," *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 593–604.

Neither artist nor patron felt it appropriate to provide frames or backgrounds for the illustrations of this codex.

This can stand as a warning that we should not too easily postulate a model in an ancient roll for a surviving illustration in a codex. The absence of frame and background is not enough. We need more specific evidence, such as the telescoping of scenes in the Vergilius Vaticanus, which demonstrates the use of an iconographic model, and the stylistic variety of backgrounds there, which allows the assumption that the iconographic model had no continuous backgrounds. But in the case of the later Vergilius Romanus, while we can imagine the necessary model for the *Aeneid* scenes as being in papyrus style, some of these scenes have landscapes so well painted that the model is more likely to have been comparable to the Vergilius Vaticanus, with framed illustrations and with backgrounds introduced by the painter of that model as he adapted an older iconography inherited from a set of rolls. To attempt to define the date and the exact nature of the iconographic model of the *Aeneid* scenes in the Vergilius Romanus would be too speculative, but the case for the first *Eclogue* illustration (Fig. 1) is good. That illustration must have had a separate iconographic tradition, and, if we imagine it executed in good classical technique, we can visualize an example of the papyrus style.

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